WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

THE MILITANT

Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America [Opposition]

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The Events in Manchuria

Japanese Achieving Objectives

Kuo Min Tang Attacks Rising Workers' Movement

Developments in the Sino-Japanese War in Manchuria have been rapid in the past week. The Japanese armies proceeded so swiftly to remove Chinese forces from any control of Manchurian soil that the foreign powers, who had not even sharply reprimanded Japan's miltary aggressions before, called upon Japan to halt her advances. Great Britain and the United States particularly intervened when it appeared as if the Japanese would also seize the city of Chinchow, the last hold of China on Manchuria. U. S. Secretary of State Stimson's alleged statement that "Japan was running amuck in Manchuria" tended to bring diplomatic parleys, carried on for the most part secretly, to a head. For the moment, at least, the Japanese march upon Chinchow has been halted.

But what is outstanding in the Manchurian situation is that the Japanese imperialists have achieved virtually all their objectives in Manchuria and are now in a position to make "concessions" to the "demands" of the United States and the imperialist powers associated in the League of Nations. Japan has cleared Manchuria of nearly all Chinese forces and influence for the time being, The so-called International Commission of Inquiry into affairs in Manchuria and China will, when it begins its tasks of legalizing the exploitation and dismemberment of Manchuria and China, have to do so while Japanese troops occupy Manchurian soil at all strategic points. Japan has virtually forced the other imperialist powers (bourgeois China herself had little choice in the matter) to recognize the validity of her so-called treaty "rights" in Manchuria, rights obtained from a powerless China at the point of a gun.

The Chinese Bourgeoisie Capitulate Before the Imperialists

The Chinese bourgeois government of Chiang Kai-Shek has all but totally surrendered to the demands of the Japanese imperialists, as well as to the pressure of the capitalist powers led by the United States and Great Britain. After much bluster that the Chinese government would consider no negotiations between Japan and itself on disputed questions, until Japanese military forces had evacuated Manchuria, the Nanking government is now ready to concede that vital point and to place her reliance on the International Commission of Inquiry. A sad reed indeed to lean upon and which foreshadows greater miseries for the Chinese people.

Rarely has a government in all history been so suppine and groveling before its foreign imperialist masters,—from Japan to Italy, Great Britain and the United States, as has been the capitalist government of Chiang Kai-Shek. The latter has not moved in reality one iota to resist the Japanese invasion, despite the strong and growing protest and demands of all elements in China, particularly the workers and poorer peasants. Chiang's boast that he would lead the military forces against Japan on the Manchurian front has proved to be an idle boast. He remains in Manking.

The Oppression Against the Chinese Masses

But if Chiang Kai-Shek and the rest of the bourgeoisie behind him have been wholly weak and lax in opposing the Japanese imperialists, they have been working overtime once again to smash the rising movement of the workers, peasants and students, whose wrath and demand for struggle against all forms of imperialism, foreign and native, has grown rapidly again in the past weeks. But Chiang denounces the demonstrators, not only against his bloody regime, but against Japan. The economic boycott against Japanese goods and its possibilities is frowned upon by the government, and efforts are made to make the boycott innocuous, colorless and merely gestures of defiance against Japan. Despite this, and the present bourgeois character, in the main, of the boycott. it has been a thorn in the side of the Japanese. The Kuo Min Tang government of Chiang Kai-Shek further proceeds against the working class. It has forbidden strikes and brands the suspension of work "as illegal in times of crisis". Suppression of workers' organizations and execution of labor militants and Communists continue as the policy of the Kuo Min Tang. Our readers in other columns of **The Militant** can read the **Fenprekor** despatches which give graphic first hand pictures and explanations of the situation and actions in China and the Far East generally.

Relations With the Soviet Union

Despite these actions and policies of the Chinese Nationalists, there is considerable effort being exerted for the resumption of relations with the Soviet Union. It is sad to have to say that the Chinese Revolution of 1927 was destroyed by Chiang Kai-Shek and the Kuo Min Tang which was then fully supported and endorsed by Joseph Stalin and the Comintern over the protests of the Left Opposition. It is perhaps fitting that the hands of Chiang Kai-Shek should again seek to grasp those of Stalin whose policy leads everywhere to the destruction of international socialism and solidarity of the working masses.

The Canton Government, of which Engene Chen is foreign minister, charges Nanking with failure to resist Japan's invasion, and decries reliance upon the League of Nations. This bourgeois government which has fundamentally the same aims as Nanking, realizes that if the Chinese bourgeois is to develop as a power and be able also to resist the Chinese toilers, it will have to show at least some semblance of resistance to the invaders.

Arising out of the Manchurian situation, **Pravda**, Moscow, raises the question of recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States as one means whereby confusion and understanding between the various countries may be alleviated or removed, citing the Sino-Russ Eastern Railway dispute as a point.

Winter will slow down military operations in Manchuria. Meanwhile Japan remains intrenched in Manchuria and, on the whole, regards with equanimity, the forthcoming commission of inquiry, to be extended to five members to include a small power. Only the Chinese bourgeoisie have cause to tremble in their boots. Japan's capital investments of $750,000,000 (figures of 1930, from **World Almanac** of 1931) appear indeed to be secure. Nor has it great qualms just now over its investments in China itself which, among others, include outright ownership of 43 cotton mills, with 1,397,272 spindles and 13,981 looms.

The Importance of Chinchow

Japan's hope to seize Chinchow, against which the other powers set up a screeching howl, is easy to understand. It was the last hold of China in Manchuria. Chinchow, says a report of the National Geographic Society, is the chief city of Southwest Manchuria; it is the center for Chinese trade. It is one of the most strategically located cities in the Far East and has the only railroad which links China and Manchuria. It is China's open "front door" to Manchuria which China must hold to have any say in Manchuria.

Now there are discussions for the establishment of a "neutral zone" about Chinchow, and, further, December 15th is suggested for the withdrawal of troops from Manchuria. Negotiations are slow and, it is expected, will be long drawn out, during which time, nevertheless, fighting of one sort or another will continue, and working class victims of capitalist militarism will be killed. The Nanking government will accept whatever is handed to them by the imperialists. The League of Nations is seeking for a "formula", not a solution, to the Manchurian problems.

Revive the Workers' Movement In China

The Communists and militants in Japan and China are increasing their activities. That is the best hope for a correct ultimate solution. In Japan there have been manifestations by the workers against the Japanese attack uopn Manchuria. In China, as has been pointed out, the working class is endeavoring to rebuild its economic and political organizations, and is arousing itself for struggle against the Chinese bourgeoisie and the Kuo Min Tang betrayers, against the militarists and landlords of north and south and the institutions of militarism and capitalism in China. The Chinese toilers are once again building for the future, for the only lasting solution, for a Soviet China. It is for the American workers to assist the Chinese masses by organizing their forces against the strongest of the imperialist powers, the United States, whose claws are sharpened for a grip on China.

—MARTIN ABERN.

★ ★

» OPEN FORUM «

The New York „Dynamite Plot"

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at the

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Marine Workers' Defense Is Organized

Militant Workers Rally to the Defense of Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer

Statement and Appeal of the Marine Workers' Defense Committee

To All Workers and all Workers' Organizations:

Comrades and Fellow-workers:

On Tuesday, November 17th, the New York newspapers carried sensational stories of the arrest of the secretary and four other members of the Independent Tidewater Boatmens' Union on charges that they had engaged in a plot for "the wholesale bombing of barges in New York Harbor". It was claimed that the guilt of the arrested union members was clearly established and admitted; that they had "confessed" to the crimes charged against them. The stage was all set for the breaking up of the union and the railroading of the arrested men to prison terms of twenty-five to forty years.

An investigation of the case by leading members of the Tidewater Boatmen's Union and others soon put another face on the affair. As a result of this investigation we say now:

Workers, they are trying to put over another frame-up; pay no attention to anything they say in the capitalist press until you read the following statement of the case on behalf of the defendants:

1. **They have not "confessed".** The only confession the police have obtained is the "confession" of their own stool-pigeon and **agent provocateur,** a police character who has undertaken the role of a modern Harry Orchard. On this point the defendants have made the following statement in a letter to the defense committee:

"We want to make it clear to all those concerned that not one of us, the undersigned, is guilty of any part of the crimes charged against us and have contended so throughout the whole case, no matter what the daily press may have said to the contrary. We are framed and accused by one William Hoyle, a member of the union whom the police are using against us. Our stand has been, is now, and always will be, one of not guilty. Our only crime has been that of organizing workers in an industry where exploitation has reached its very limit. If this is a crime, then we will continue to be criminals, but we most emphatically deny guilt of the matter charged against us by the police."

3. **The role of an agent provocateur.** The case against the accused union workers consists of the statements of one man who has undertaken to furnish the necessary "evidence" to send them to prison for the rest of their lives, as so many police perjurers have been willing to do in the well-known labor cases of the past. It is sufficient only to recall the Mooney base, the Sacco-Vanzetti case and the case of Moyer and Haywood for an intelligent worker to be on his guard against this factor in the frame-up game.

The flimsiness of the present case was given a striking illustration already at the preliminary hearing set for Tuesday, November 24. Fearing to trust the **agent provocateur** to cross-examination by the defense attorney at an open court hearing, the prosecution rushed through a **secret indictment** by the Grand Jury the night before in order to avoid the hearing. And they have already been obliged to dismiss the charges against Reilly, one of the original defendants.

Concerning the stool-pigeon Hoyle and his role, John G. Soderberg, secretary of the Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union and one of the defendants, writes in a letter from jail:

"Who is this Hoyle? What is his record? A conviction in Providence for larceny. Fired off his last three jobs, not for organization activities but on account of drunkenness. Unable to get a job in the harbor he hit on the idea of making easy money by trying to involve his own union comrades in some tangle . . . He went to Hickey (manager of the O'Boyle Towing Co. and complainant in the case) in open court (at the arraignment) in front of us all, asked for and received $10 or account for sending four men up the river for 40 years or more".

Perjurers, stool-pigeons and **agents provocateur** have played their perfidious role in every conspiracy against militant labor leaders.

No intelligent worker who knows the history of labor and the frame-up system would convict anyone on such testimony.

3. **They want to destroy the Boatmen's Union.** The Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union is the real target of the conspiracy of which the defendants are the immediate victims. This is clearly shown by the whole procedure during and after the arrests. The police did not simply arrest the defendants as would be done in an ordinary criminal case. They raided the union hall and drove everybody out. They tore the telephone from the wall and smashed the furniture. They carried away the books and records of the union. Then they put a police padlock on the hall and barred the members from admittance. And they didn't stop there. In the days following the arrests and the sensational stories in the press, police and detectives went onto the boats, where the members of the union were working, and warned them that if they did not tear up their union books they would run the risk of being involved in the case. All these facts are testified to by officers and leading members of the union.

What is the reason for this campaign of terrorism? If the case against the accused men is an ordinary criminal case, if they are interested only in apprehending criminals, why is such an assault made against the union? These are questions which every worker must ask. The answer is simple enough. The union, to which the defendants belong, organizes the harbor boatmen and fights for a minimum wage standard for them. In the recent period sweeping wage cuts against these workers have been made by various companies in the harbor. The union fought this wage cutting campaign. It upheld the standards on the boats under its control while the unorganized boatmen had to submit to heavy reductions. The Tidewater Boatmen's Union holds a position of gerat strategic importance in the organization of all workers in the New York Harbor. It has been established and functioning for a period of more than ten years and has built up a stable group of union fighters. John G. Soderberg, as secretary of the union, was one of the leading spirits in the struggle. The other defendants—Thomas Bunker and William Trajer— were active workers for the union. Therein lies the explanation why they were selected as the victims, and why their arrest was ony a cover for a terroistic assault against the union.

4. **Bestial Third Degree Torture.** The laws of all the states prohibit the infliction of "cruel and unusual" punishment on convicted criminals in prison. But the New York police are not in the least restrained by this prohibition in their treatment of prisoners whose guilt remains to be proven. Their brutal maltreatment of helpless prisoners who fall into their hands is as notorious as their graft, as their framing of women and their support of the bosses in every labor struggle. In the case of the accused marine workers they have outdone themselves. In their efforts to compel the defenseless prisoners to "confess" they have resorted to bestial and inhuman torture. Read the statement of one of the prisoners.

"Half an hour later I was arrested, and in less than an hour Trajer (a boy of 20) was brought in and shown to me just long enough for me to see his swollen and blood-smeared face (which was shown me for effect)."

"The police were beating me unconscious in their endeavor to force me to plead guilty. All known tortures were used by the police (beating of testicles with blackjacks, punching and squeezing of same, etc."

They talk about crime? What crime can be more terrible, what greater offensive against humanity can there be than the torture, by these methods of the dark ages, of helpless prisoners in the dark corners of their jail? Yes, crime has been committed; but it is you, police guardians of property, who are the criminals!

No only do they condemn themselves before humanity by these tortures; they also refute their own accusations against the prisoners. If they have proof of their guilt, then why did they resort to torture to compel "confessions"? This is the question which will logically arise in the mind of every unprejudiced person. And when, on top of that, it is taken into consideration that even this torture could not exort "confessions", the presumption of innocence on the part of the defendants becomes overwhelming.

5. **Our Duty of Solidarity.** From all that has been said it seems to us perfectly clear that this case has a vital interest for all workers' organizations, and that all workers owe an obligation of solidarity to the defendants. Dynamite plants and dynamite plots are a common menace to all. We have seen enough of this game in our own experience; we have read enough about it in the history of the labor movement in earlier generations. We dare not turn aside and let the arrested marine workers fight alone. If the movement can be terrorized by the cry of dynamite, if everyone turns away the minute the police announce the "discovery" of bombs, then no organization, and no active worker in the labor cause is secure from attack. They can plant a bomb in any office, produce a stool-pigeon to testify and railroad anyone they please. They have done it many times before and they will do it again if we do not investigate and expose every case and come to the aid of the intended victims.

The duty of all class conscious workers is clear. Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer must be provided with competent legal defense. The labor movement must be informed of the facts in the case and the issues involved. Searching investigations must be conducted to unsover the whole conspiracy and bring every thing out into the light of day.

For these purposes, and at the urgent request of the defendants, the under-

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News from the Far East

China Seeks to Renew Soviet Relations

SHANGHAI—Nov. 1, 1931. Far Eastern Press Correspondence—(Fenpreeor)—While the terror against Communists and revolutionaries of every shade continues unabated,d Nanking government politico-military circles are being agitated at the moment over the question of **resuming relations with Soviet Russia.** Relations were broken off in 1929 by the U. S. S. R., as a conquance of Chinese raids on the Peking and Harbin consulates during the Sino-Soviet dispute over the Chinese Eastern Railway in July of the year.

The current agitation for diplomatic resumption is a direct outgrowth of the Japanese imperialist invasion of Manchuria. A large bloc of Chinese politico-military opinion is convinced that only through cooperation with the Soviet can China effectively block Japan. The fulfillment of their dearest wishes would be realized if the Soviet Union were to take up the cudgels against Japan in the present crisis.

As delegates from Nanking and Canton met here this week to attempt a **rapprochement** and redivision of the spoils, reports began emanating from authoritative sources that negotiations for resuming relations with Soviet Russia would soon be tentatively begun. The issue has been given additional impetus by the patent failure of the League of Nations to handle the Manchurian situation and the expectation that the League will be forced to recede before Japan, whose firm stand with regard to her position in Manchuria, far from weakening in the face of rival imperialist opposition, has stiffened into blunt defiance.

Urgent requests for resumption of relations with the Soviet began pouring down from the Northeastern provinces shortly after the Japanese occupation, which began on September 19. Public organizations of the most reactionary type, chamber of commerce, merchants' guilds, etc., kept the wires hot for weeks with burning petitions on the subject.

Demand For Renewed Relations Increases

To these petitions was added on October 17 the voice of Noh Teh-hui, chief Chinese delegate to the Moscow conference on the Chinese Eastern Railway dispute. Noh, who has been languishing in Moscow since last March without making any progress, wired Marshal Chang Hsueh-Liang, deposed Manchurian warlord,d to urge the Nationalist Government to undertake resumption of relations "with a view to securing Moscow's help in the solution of the Manchurian crisis" says a dispatch to the **China Press of Shanghai.**

Generally influential opinion in the north among the bourgeois merchants and military whose economic positions have been jeopardidzed by the Japanese occupation soon crystallized into what has became a persistent demand for resuming relations with China's northern neighbor.

Coincident with this agitation comes a report from Harbin that distinct changes have already taken place in Sino-Soviet relationships up there in the last two weeks. The press in Harbin has suddenly been given permission to freely publish news from Russian sources. Chinese river craft are now permitted to carry grain through to Soviet ports on the Amur River. Previously tugs towing grain barges had been permitted to proceed only as far as the mouth of the Sungari River, where the barges were taken over by Soviet steamers. Now they are pushing right through to Habarovsk.

On the 28th and 29th of October alarmingly worded reports were circulated in China from Japanese sources "disclosing heavy movements of Soviet troops on the Manchurian border. Tokyo's foreign minister, Baron Shidehara, forthwith instructed the Japanese ambassador at Moscow to "express" Japan's concern at the reports . . . and to ask the Soviet Government to refrain from activities which are liable to arouse military apprehensions". When Karakhun retorted with a sharp denial of the rumors, which he characterized as "provocative", Japanese official circles officially expressed official relief, and declared they had known all along the rumors were scarcely credible.

A transparent plan on the part of the Japanese was seen in the exchange to help justify before the world their failure to withdraw from Manchurian soil before the date set by the League of Nations resolution, which has already been repudiated and characterized in its true dimensions by Japan.

Although the Nanking Government issued a statement on the 30th that no request has even been made to Soviet Rus-

(Continued on Page 2)

Militant Situation is Critical

The critical financial situation of **The Militant** makes it necessary to continue our appeal for financial assistance for the paper. There is no other way to make certain the appearance of the **Weekly Militant** but to ask our supporters and readers to help financially. Every reader of **The Militant,** we feel sure, will do everything possible to assure its continuance, We now ask for **immediate aid;** it is the only way out of our present difficulty, and to enable us to build more solidly for the future.

Our organization, the Communist League of America, takes pride in the **international** character of **The Militant,** an outsanding feature which is not even remotely approached by any other paper of the Communist movement. With this issue, still another development in this respect is recorded; namely, the utilization of the press service, **Fenprecor,** which will enable us to furnish our readers with accurate, detailed and comprehensive data on the situation in the Far East. So long as **The Militant** is able financially to do so, it will continue this press service.

Our situation remains precarious; our financial weakness hinders the development of many of our other projects. We call upon all our readers to help **The Militant** NOW Make a donation TODAY. And better yet, decide to make a weekly contribution for the sustenance of the **Weekly Militant.**

Send all money immediately.

THE MILITANT
84 East 10th Street,
New York, N. Y.

Entertainment for «El Soviet»

NEW YORK ENTERTAINMENT ON SATURDAY

An affair for the benefit of **El Soviet,** official organ of the Left Opposition of Spain will be held on Saturday, December 5th, 1931, beginning at 8 P. M., at the headquarters of the New York Branch of the Communist League (Opposition), 84 East 10th Street. Workers are cordidally invited to attend. Refreshments will be served.

Swabeck National Tour Well Under Way

The National Tour of comrade Arne Swabeck opened in Boston with a mass meeting on November 27th. Sessions were also held by Swabeck with the Boston Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) in connection with various activities, among them trade union work, the I. L. D., etc.

From Boston comrade Swabeck was scheduled to continue on to Toronto, Canada and thence to Detroit, and then for a stay of 6 days in Chicago, commencing on December 8th, where there will be held open forum lectures, a mass meeting and Branch gatherings. Detailed reports on comrade Swabeck's tour will begin in the next issue of **The Militant.**

All the branches have written in to the National Office of the Communist League of America, expressing great satisfaction that the national tour has been arranged. The remainder of comrade Swabeck's schedule follows:

Chicago, Ill.	Dec. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.
Springfield, Ill.	Dec. 14.
St. Louis, Mo.	Dec. 15, 16.
Kansas City, Mo.	Dec. 18, 19, 20.
Minneapolis, Minn.	Dec. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29.
Chicago, Ill.	Dec. 31 and January 1st
Youngstown, Ohio	January 3
Cleveland, Ohio	January 4, 5.
Philadelphia, Pa.	January 10.

Book Review

"Lenin" by Prince D. S. Mirsky—Little Brown & Co.

In a booklet on the history of Russia, Prince Svyatapolk-Mirsky concludes with the thought that Soviet Russia represents a new type of civilization—a civilization in which Eastern (Asiatic) ideals predominate over Western (European) ideals. And that is good, he thinks; for Eastern culture (ignorance, mysticism and mendicancy) is to him superior to Western culture (the machine and its resultants).

That is the springboard of his acceptance of the present—Stalinist—regime in Russia. Soviet Russia does not represent to him the fulfillment of an idea—a social idea—the Marxian idea; but it represents to him rather a counterposing of cultural forces—the East vs. the West, Spengler vs. Marx. And so we have another apostle of National Socialism as against World Revolution.

Friends and enemies are not the choices of accident. Too, it is no accident that Lenin should have at one time chided Stalin for his nationalistic compulsions. And when the latest of the Trotsky killers, the professor and Prince, Mirsky, comes to make his peace, fourteen years after the event, with the Soviet Revolution, it is because—"the Communists—were better patriots than the National Russians—" In fact it was "this patriotic acceptance of Soviet policy" that led him to undertake the biography of the firmest disciple of Marx—the creator with Trotsky—not so much of "a new State" but of the first dictatorship of the proletariat over an area comprising no less than a sixth of the earth's sufrace. And why not? If social patriots and epigones can write books on Leninism why can't a reactionary epigone and patriot write a book on Lenin. Of the two the latter is less harmful.

Such belated courtesies to the Workers' State from all manner and shape of former aristocrats, intelligentsia and down right red baiters seems to be the mode now. All, however, under the guise of the National Socialistic (socialism in one country) principle. In Germany, recently, an entire group of intellectuals and army men came out in favor of the C. P. G., declaring it the most patriotic party in Germany and seeking a national socialistic solution for the economic ills of the land. Each theory evolves its own practice. Strange theories —strange adherents.

The Prince's Hero Is—Stalin

As for the book itself, it is the most puerile attempt at biography since Emil Ludwig sat on a high chair. To attempt the life of a great man and leave out that period in his history which has been most instrumental in bringing out his greatness and importance is, at best, an effort at taxidermy and not biography. There is nothing in the book that one with a fairly adequate acquaintance of revolutionary literature, especially that pertaining to Soviet Russia, does not already know. There are a few specious and rationalized defenses of his real hero Stalin. Our author, seemingly under the spell of Yaroslovsky, tries a little perversion of Party history, himself. The reference is to November the seventh. According to John Reed (and you have your choice as to your historiographer) it was Lenin who insisted on that date for the Revolution to take over power which proved to be an entirely successful choice. According to the Prince, however, it was Trotsky, against the wishes of Lenin who held to that date and was almost responsible for the "Revolution ending tragically!"

Every chance our author has of belittling comrade Trotsky's role in the Bolshevik Revolution is well utilized. But that should not be news to readers of **The Militant,** considering the source from which the vituperation flows.

—M.

BOOKS BY

Leon Trotsky

1. **THE STRATEGY OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION**
86 pages, two-colored paper cover, 25c
Introduction by Max Shachtman

2. **THE DRAFT PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL**
A Criticism of Fundamentals
Introduction by J. P. Cannon
140 pages, hard paper cover, 35c

3. **THE SPANISH REVOLUTION**
30 pages, paper cover, 10c

4. **THE SPANISH EVOLUTION IN DANGER**
64 pages, paper cover, 15c

5. **THE REAL SITUATION IN RUSSIA**
Introduction by Max Eastman
364 page book, formerly $2.00; now $1.00

6. **MY LIFE (Autobiograhy)**
600 pages, $5.00

7. **COMMUNISM AND SYNDICALISM**
The Trade Union Question
Introduction by J. P. Cannon
64 pages, paper vocer, 15c

PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U. S. S. R.
48 pages, paper cover, 15c

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The Defendants Before the Docks in Canada

The Goverment Aims to Attack All of the Communist Forces; An Evaluation of the Defence

It was common ground that the trial at the Toronto assizes was not of the accused as individuals only but of the Communist Party of Canada. That circumstance placed a great responsibility on the comrades to conduct their defence in accord with revolutionary traditions and in a manner promoting the political education of the masses. The accused could not resort to a merely legalistic defence without grave sacrifice of positions of principle. It was patently in the nature of the case that the rules of court procedure and the exclusionary technicalities of evidence were no less weighted in favor of the prosecution than the section of the Criminal Code which was the basis of the indictment. The presiding Judge would not, for example, permit explanatory statements where, in his view, the question could be answered categorically. The evidence of an interested witness was not as "safe" as of a witness absolutely disinterested in the outcome. In the light of the emphasis it received in the Judge's charge to the jury, the oral evidence of the police spy Leopold was presumably counted as "disinterested". The court ruled out as inadmissable all evidence of the activity of the party in the labor movement that it conceived as not bearing on the particular issue of "force and violence". Wih due regard to these limitations, which operate in other jurisdictions, it was still necessary and possible to develop a revolutionary defence. To what extent did the accused succeed?

The Prosecution's Material

Following the testimony of Leopold, the Crown read an enormous number of exhibits, the booty of the police raids, into the evidence. The prosecution quoted profusely from the organ of the underground days of the party, **The Communist,** from the **Worker,** the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, the Theses and Statutes of the Comintern, the 21 points of admission adopted at the Second Congress, the reports of proceedings of successive Congresses of the C. I. and conventions of the party, the program of the Sixth Congress, the minutes of the Political Bureau, cablegrams that passed between the Comintern and the party committee, etc. All this painstaking accumulation was intended to bring home to the jury that the Communist Party of Canada was admittedly a section of the Comintern, that it was subordinated to the "instructions" of Moscow, and accordingly the agent was responsible for the plans and acts of the principal. Mr. Norman Somerville, the Crown prosecutor, was not satisfied with eloquent quotations from fundamental documents. The police had also seized what purported to be a pamphlet of Vassiliev of the Organization Department of the Comintern, in which the author undertakes to discuss more efficient methods of workers' self-defence for protection of open air demonstrations against any ensuing police attacks. The Crown attempted to link this pamphlet up with a demonstration in Toronto in which certain policemen were alleged to have suffered injuries.

But of course the crux of the Crown's case was that the whole program and strategy of the party were based on the advocacy and defence of "force and violence", or as the Judge charged, "I must instruct you that if you think force and violence a logical, natural result of their teachings, it is a matter of law that they are advocating, advising and defending force and violence for the overthrow of governmental and industrial institutions. It is not a question of time, but a question of the intent and meaning of their teachings and documents."

Party History

The first of the accused who went into the box was Tim Buck, the party s cretary. He described the formation of the Communist Party of Canada from the various groups of the Communist and United Communist Parties of America, which had branches in this country, and from other elements of the former socialist and trade union movements. The period was overshadowed by the Palmer raids in the States with their mass deportation and the War Measures Act and Orders in Council in the Dominion which had outlawed a whole series of socialist organizations. Here lay the reason for the underground character of the party in the early days. But in December 1921 the Workers Party was organized from a preliminary Conference, and in 1924 the underground party was wound up and the Workers Party became the sole Communist Party in the country, frankly associated with the Communist International. There had never been any real difference in the objects of "Z" and "A". It was the lapse of the War Measures Act, the widening of democratic rights which had made an open party possible, which could participate in muncipal campaigns and parliamentary activity.

Trade Union Policy

Dealing with the trade Union Policy of the Party, comrade Buck denied that the Workers Unity League was the "industrial department" of the party. In the first stage of the career of the party, the emphasis had been on an amalgamation campaign inside the old craft unions in favor of industrial unionism, a campaign which had received wide support until the A. F. of L. bureaucracy countered it with expulsion of the militants and closer collaboration with the employers. Neither the Workers Unity League nor the Farmers Unity League had any "organic connection" with the party. There had been no language sections of the party since the re-organization in 1925, and the Finnish Society and Ukrainian Farmer Labor Temple were independent organizations. The minority active in these organizations naturally sought to influence and direct their policies by the same methods of persuasion open to others.

To the question if the purpose of the Communist Party was to bring about a change of government by force and violence the witness replied: "We teach the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism. The present system was essentially a system of government which had grown out of private property relationships and so could not be expected to function for socialism. When the workers obtained political power they would create their own state".

Tom Ewan, secretary of the Workers League, testified that this organization had a membership of 25,000 of which only 5 or 6% were Communists. He denied that the Communist Party advocated or taught the use of force or violence for industrial change. It was the capitalist class which resorted to violence in the class struggle. A clash in the distant future was inevitable. The Communist Party speaks against force and violence. The day to day struggle concerned wage reductions, unemployment, etc. There was no suggestion of a present overthrow of the system but an eventual overthrow is what the party was organized for.

There was no organic connection between the Comintern and the R. I. L. U. He suggested that there was little essential difference between the work and aims of the Workers Unity League and an ordinary trade union organization.

Tom Hill was examined on the relations obtaining between the party and the Finnish society.

Bruce's Testimony

Malcolm Bruce denied knowledge of any workers self defense corps in Canada. Violence had come from the police.

"We don't create or foment strife or discontent or discord," declared comrade Bruce in the course of examination by defence counsel. "We merely recognize this discontent and discord and regard the consequent class conflict as ultimately inevitable. We do not seek to bring about an armed revolution in Canada. It is merely our hope that the workers' opportunity to seize power will come when the revolution breaks out . . . our ultimate aim is a farmer-labor government in Canada and a system of Soviets or councils but not necessarily by overthrow. We feel that the system will decay and collapse of its own accord . . . The present system of government will not be in existence by the time the inevitable struggle arrives . . . all we seek is the amelioration of the lot of the workers, under this or any other system . . . The tendency of capitalism was to supercede democracy by Fascism . . . armed revolution lies in the lap of history. We recognize an evolutionary process going with two currents in society leading towards a conflict. A revolutionary crisis would arise from gradual worsening of the conditions of the workers whether there was a Communist party or not . . . The program of the Communist International was a question not of application but of interpretation. Some parts applied in Canada and were carried out and some did not." He agreed however that the Comintern program contained the underlying principles of the party operations so far as they could be applied. In reply to questions of the Crown, Bruce denied knowledge of any Workers Defense Corps in Canada or that he had voted or advocated them. He agreed that he believed in the proletarian dictatorship.

Buck's Arguments

On the seventh day of the trial, Tim Buck, who conducted his own defence, delivered his address to the jury. The fact, he declared, that the party had been in existence and operated publicly for ten years went to the root of the situation. The Judge however refused him the privilege of referring to the activities of the party in the working class movement "outside the evidence". The Communist movement, he proceeded, was world-wide. The present general program was the historical continuance of the Communist Manifesto of 65 years ago, based on the principle that all history was the history of class struggle. The program of the Comintern was also an analysis of society and the present crisis.

"Revolutions don't come because parties make them, but because history proceeds forward from one epoch to another. In each system is the germ of the next one." Capitalism must eventually fall under the weight of its own contradictions. The world war was an expression due to the fact that the producing powers of the capitalist world had come into insoluble contradiction with state boundaries. Imperialism has developed the pre-requisites for socialism. Communism is the only alternative to fascism. The class struggle grows whether the Communist Party was in existence or not, for it came out of the struggle, not the reverse. But the Communist Party was increasing the resistance of the working class by organization in capitalist countries.

"We are placed on trial as having advocated something we haven't advocated or taught. "Force and violence was not something which grew up by being advocated. "I don't believe in violence nor does any Communist . . . While there has been violence in historica changes, it has been the result of the fight by the privileged classes to retain their privileged position." Violence is coming and is bound to increase but "if the people are to learn force and violence it is not from us." He concluded with an expression of the hope that the outcome of the trial would be an increased realization of the need for working class organization.

Prosecution and Judge in Joint Attack

The Crown Prosecutor addressed the Jury last. It was a savage recapitulation. He disclaimed that this trial was an attack on socialism or communism "if it could be advocated in a legitimate fashion" nor was it an attack on trade unionism which was "protected" by the institutions of the country. "Nowhere was there more freedom of speech than in Canada". The men in the box constituted the general staff for civil war. He again quoted from the Statutes of the Second Congress and alleged that the role of the Communist Party had been clearly set forth there. The time to put out a fire was before the conflagration. "To convict is to declare that revolution shall not prevail in Canada, that Moscow shall not dictate to Canada . . ." He wound up by invoking the "shadow of Remembrance Day" and the sacrifices in the war.

Aim To Attack All Communist Groups

After the Judge's charge to the Jury, the verdict was a foregone conclusion. "The documents and testimony at this trial", he said, "have drawn a distinction between two classes—the proletariat, covering all wage workers, and the bourgeoisie comprising all others with the petty bourgeoisie in between. In a democratic country like this, where the proletarian of today may be the bourgeois of tomorrow, is it just and proper to set one of these classes against the other . . . The law is the collective wisdom of our representatives in Parliament and must be obeyed. . . ."

The verdict is already known to the readers of **The Militant.** The Attorney-General of Ontario has graciously offered to make the mass of evidence available to any provincial attorney-general who may undertake prosecutions against other members of the Communist Party or against organizations with similar policies and principles. In a statement to the press, the Crown prosecutor, Mr. Somerville, thought it best to add his own pleasant note. Not only were the 4000 members of the party liable to prosecution, but any who have dropped membership or been expelled. "Under this last class," he believed, "would some such former leading members of the party as Jack MacDonald one time party secretary, and Maurice Spector, former editor of the **Worker."**

Since this statement, the party headquarters in Winnipeg have been raided and the District Ogranizer there, C. Marriot, has been placed under arrest.

Evaluation of the Defence

We have acknowledged the technical circumstances that embarassed the defence. We add that we do not impugn the personal courage of the accused. That indispensable attribute is not, however, exclusively Bolshevik. Our criterion of the merits of the defence must be political. To the Communist, the courtroom is another forum for the program of class struggle. To dilute it before the jury is no more permissible than on the floor of the House of Commons. "Ideas have their own logic and explosive force". The principal defect of the defence was the lapse (at times amounting to a negation) from the Leninist conception of the vanguard role of the Communist Party in the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. The defendants' keynote was that "parties do not make a revolution . . . we teach the inevitability of the collapse of capitalism, that is all . . ." Though never guilty of the caricature of it sometimes drawn, it is for this very theory of "spontaneity" that Rosa Luxemburg has been subjected to countless post-mortems. In effect there was a retreat to Kautsky's apologetic theory of "the level of the forces of production".

To explain the material and objective pre-requisites of the revolution was entirely correct. What was wrong was to obscure and mimimize the function of the revolutionary party. Our positions on this head have been incontrovertibly established by Marx and Lenin. Granted that no social order disappears which has not developed its maximum productive forces and that if there were the possibility of a fresh organic development of capitalism today, the proletarian revolution would be impossible. What has that in common with "economic determinism" or fatalism? It certainly does not mean that the old order collapses of its own weight when it becomes economically reactionary. Determined by the concrete situation, the will of the class and its crystallization in the party constitute an integral element of the historic process. The bourgeoisie will not abdicate: it must be conquered. Neither bourgeois decline nor proletarian dictatorship are automatic. The epoch of imperialism has created the world-wide conditions for the proletarian revolution. In this epoch it is assuredly not true that "parties don't make revolutions". Contemporary history alone affords a dozen examples in Germany, Bulgaria, China, Spain and elsewhere, of revolutionary crises which the ruling class "surmounted" in the absence of a competent revolutionary party.

Lenin's classic opposition to this theory of the "elemental development" of the workers' movement is well known. "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement . . . the workers do not automatically develop a socialist consciousness . . . without a party of our own, it is impossible to wage such a struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat . . . the revolutionary social-democrat is a Jacobin bound up with the organization of the class-conscious proletariat. . . ." He fought tooth and nail against the Menshevik proposals to liberalize the party by the admission of the pre-October counterparts of some "Friends of the Soviet Union". The Communist Party of Canada is yet a propaganda organization. Nobody pretends that there is an immediate struggle for power. For the final struggle the Communist party must count its supporters in the millions, not thousands. All the more necessary is it to emphasize the role of the revolutionary party. The workers have paid dearly for their illusory hopes of the Labor Party and the Social Democracy. The Comintern has paid for its entente cordiale with the British trade union bureaucracy and the Chinese Kuo Min Tang and its reliance on "workers and peasants' parties".

Other Shortcomings of the Defense

Another marked shortcoming in the defense was the obscure stand on the fundamental problem of the revolution—the conquest of power, in other words the dictatorship of the proletariat. In their natural desire to prove that "force and violence" were not the product of mere advocacy or propaganda but of existing property relations, the defendants leaned over backwards and involuntarily drew a picture of an increasingly violent capitalism and a social-pacifist communism. It was stated and repeated that no communist "believes" in force or violence. Of course no Communist believes in "force and violence" for its own sake. But we Marxists do something more than deplore the violence of the possessing classes. We give no direct or indirect aid or comfort to the constitutional illusions fostered by the reformists of a democratic transition to socialism. Capitalism, in the words of Marx, comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt. The capitalist state has never yet been guided by faith, hope and charity and it will not meet the revolutionary challenge of the working class with the Sermon on the Mount. It will avail itself of the fraud of parliamentarism while it is still an effective opiate of the masses; it will resort to the unmasked terror of fascism when "democracy" fails it. Against this State, with its panoply of police, militarism, bureaucracy, judges and jailers, and its basis of finance-capital and monopoly, the Communists cannot advocate the policy of the struggle for power with folded arms. Lenin and Marx were in complete accord that the proletarian revolution could not be realized "without the forcible destruction of the ready-made bourgeois state machine and its replacement by a new machine".

The standpoint of the Crown was the continuity of the legal system before, during and after a revolutionary crisis. But law is the handmaiden of social forces. The common law crime of Seditions conspiracy failed to overawe the American Revolution; the Constitution failed to deflect the American Civil war. Codes and injunctions have notoriously failed to solve the fundamental contradictions of social systems in decay. The proscription of the Communist Party is the vindication of its necessity. The repeal of section 98 of the Criminal Code should be immediately inscribed in letters of fire in the program of demands of every working class organization in the country.

—MAURICE SPECTOR.

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(Some Critical Remarks on an Unsuccessful Thesis).

2. A review of the labor and political situation in Greece.

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4. In Italy: "The Dictatorship of the Black Shirts on the Threshold of Its Tenth Year and the Problems of Revolutionary Struggle" by Feroci.

5. Other significant articles on events in the international labor and communist movements.

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In the Far East

(Continued from Page 1)

sia for aid, nor has any offer ever been received, the reports that negotiations for resumption will begin are still circulating and are widely credited. A Peiping report on October 31 in the Chinese vernacular press announced the arrival of a Soviet representative in the old capital to discuss the matter with Marshal Chang.

So Kuo Min Tang China is again turning to Soviet Russia, just as it did in 1924. The government now seeking to resume "friendship" with the U. S. S. R. is nothing more than a band of militarists backed by bourgeois merchant-bankers who sold the revolution in 1927 for a mess of imperialist pottage, who have been waging ceaseless war against revolutionary peasant and workers and students, who have washed the country red in the blood of its own people. For reasons of expediency, the Soviet Union may welcme resumption, if only because it might have a restraining effect on the White Terror, which still continues in all its ferocity.

CLASS BASIS OF THE ANTI-JAPANESE BOYCOTT

SHANGHAI—(Fenprecor)—The boycott movement against Japan, though operating under anti-imperialist slogans, possesses no real anti-imperialist character. This is clearly evidenced in the class composition of the various anti-Japanese associations and the type of activity which they sponsor.

The leading group, with headquarters here is the Anti-Japanese and National Salvation Association. Its membership is composed of bankers, merchants, industrial operators, well-to-do students and professionals and it confines its measures to driving Japanese goods from the Chinese market. To give the movement a popular character, it draws behind it the docile membership of the yellow, Kuo Min Tang controlled trade unions.

Attempts by the class conscious workers to demonstrate their genuine anti-imperialist sentiments, to raise genuine anti-imperialist slogans and thus create a mass movement which would logically possess a revolutionary character, are ruthlessly suppressed by the authorities. Such a movement would be inevitably directed dagainst the Kuo Min Tang government which for four years has acted as the conscious agent of imperialism on behalf of the foreign powers.

In the seizure and confiscation of Japanese goods in the large centers, in the penalization of Chinese merchants handling such goods and in all similar activities, the boycott movement has revealed itself as a new and rather violent phase of the inter-capitalist competitive process of which it is merely an unusual extension.

The Exploiters Band Together

A genuine anti-imperialist movement in China would have to direct its activities against **all** the violators of China's sovereignity without regard to nationality. But while proclaiming their opposition to Japanese aggression, the Chinese bourgeoisie and their governments in Nanking and Canton still maintain and thrive on friendly relationships with the other robber powers who for a century have been filibustering in China. And the sincerity of their anti-Japanese declamations can be measured by their strenuous efforts to "protect Japanese lives and property" from the threatened attacks of a real popular movement.

In Canton an anti-Japanese demonstration by students of the Sun-Yet Sen University was fired on by the police. Twelve students were killed and twenty seriously wounded. To allay popular feeling, Chief of Police Nin Wan ordered the arrest of the officers who gave the order to fire. He released them a few days later and resigned his position, being succeeded by General Neung Nenping, commander of the Second Army.

Chinese Police Attack Demonstrating Workers

The government proclaimed martial law, machine guns were set up in the streets and Canton became an armed camp. Pedestrians were subjected to rigid police interrogation and searchings at strategic points and approaches to government offices where armed police were reinforced by gendarmes and soldiers. 4,000 soldiers were concentrated in the centre of the city; motor cars and rickshas were stopped and searched. Many arrests were made.

In Chapei, a working class district of Shanghai, Chinese police fired on a party of demonstrators, killing two and seriously wounding several others. There followed almost immediately a proclamation of martial law in Greater Shanghai and the institution of regime similar to that introduced in Canton.

The Anti-Japanese and National Salvation Association in Shanghai passed a resolution this week which states that "henceforth badges shall be worn by officers of the Association and in future persons found participating in patriotic movements who are not wearing such a badge will be branded as traitors and treated as such".

Meanwhile news begins to trickle down that the small Chinese shopkeeper is beginning to suffer from the stoppage of Japanese goods. From Tsingkiangpoo, Kiangsu, comes a report dated October 28th that all shops in the city closed down as retaliation for the Association's sealing up and detention of all Japanese goods.

Times have changed and historical roles have been reassigned. Up to 1927 Chinese workers and students were the victims of shots fired by foreigners in defense of imperialist privileges. Today the shots come from rifles handled by Chinese soldiers and policemen.

Political Banditry in the French Communist Party

The Party is Conducting Factional Struggles Without Principles or Platform

The Communist movement in France today finds itself in an extremely difficult position. The tremendous sweep of enthusiasm for the Communist International in the early years following upon the Russian revolution, reaching a high point when the Left wing won a majority at the Tours congress of the French Socialist Party, has been considerably arrested in recent years. Here, as everywhere else, the ravages of Stalinism have left their painful scars—more correctly, open wounds—on the body of the movement. A few instances, tersely stated, will prove adequate.

A brief four years ago, the C. G. T. U., the trade union center under the control of the party, had at least as many members as the reformist unions—some 400,000 in each. Today, the C. G. T. U. finds itself in the grip of a profound crisis, having lost almost half of its members, while the C. G. T. has about 700,000 in its ranks. The party has lost at least a similar proportion of its membership. The Y. C. L. reveals an even worse state of affairs. The central organ of the party, **l'Humanite**, reports an uninterrupted decline in circulation. Or, better yet, let us quote directly from an unpublished resolution adopted at the enlarged District Committee meeting of the Paris region of the party:

Revelations of the Party Conference of Paris

"(a) The membership of the party is stagnant. The applications made hardly suffice to compensate the losses suffered in certain centers and the fluctuations which continue to be very substantial.

"(b) The Unitary trade unions have lost, in 1930, an important number of adherents. In spite of the seriousness of such a fact, the loss of members has not been arrested in the first semester of 1931.

"(c) The sale of **l'Humanite** has been in constant regression for a long period.

"(d) This weakening of our organization indicates a loss of influence which manifests itself in the assemblages (less attendance at meetings and demonstrations) and in the course of certain elections where, side by side with some progress, we have observed retreats.

"(e) While the Socialist Federation makes an effort to win the workers' strata, while it fights stubbornly for our troops, we record no work to win over the socialist and C. G. T. workers.

"(f) One of the most disturbing and most serious facts is that the offensive against wages in the metal industry developed this year without our having prepared and organized the resistance.

"(g) Our organizational positions in the shops are becoming constantly weaker. One might say almost non-existant.

"(h) The demonstrations of February 25, of May 1, of August 1, of September 6, brought out only a tiny number of workers.

"(i) The district revealed an almost complete passivity in the course of important national and international events: Spain, Roubaix, Germany, trip to Paris of General Bono, voyage of Reynaud to Indo-China, etc.

"(j) The Youth organization is stagnant and has found no support in the party.

"(k) In the various mass organizations (International Red Aid, Workers International Relief, Friends of the Soviet Union, Tenants, etc.) there is a stagnation or a retrogression of membership . . . . "

Stated in moderated terms, the resolution of the Paris district indicates the present state of affairs in the ranks of official Communism in France, based upon conditions obtaining in the most important and strongest sector of the party—Paris. In the provinces, the tableau is considerably more depressing.

Preparations For Another "Decisive Turn"

The "decisive turn" of the middle of last year, even if one is to take only the admissions made officially by the Stalinists, manifestly resulted in no amelioration of the failing health of the party. If anything, it has gone from bad to worse. And at the present moment, the party is threatened with heavy blows directed at the most important domain of Communist influence upon the working class: the trade unions. The details of this phase of the problem must be left for a more extensive account. It is enough to state here that the reformists of the C. G. T. have taken the offensive against the C. G. T. U. and the party all along the line, and already with considerable success. In the ranks of the C. G. T. U. itself, a substantial Right wing current has forged to the front and is conducting the work of reformism within the revolutionary ranks—on the question of trade union unity—which the helpless and hopeless Stalinist leaders of the C. G. T. U., whose national congress is assembled in Paris as these lines are written, show themselves to be incapable of counteracting. When one adds to this the fact that the discontentment of the party membership manifests itself not only by voting against the bureaucrats with their feet, but also by mutterings and even by open protest, those in the slightest initiated into the methods of operation of Stalinism will immediately realize that the stage is all set for a "new turn", just as "decisive" as those which preceded it.

Another Scapegoat Is Discovered

But no "turn" is complete on the Stalinist stage without a villain, that is, without the revelation of a scapegoat, or a number, or group of scapegoats, to whom is attributed all the evil of yesterday, all the maladies of the party, and all the responsibility for what has happened since the last "turn" and frequently further back. This time, however, the "discovery of those responsible" has laid bare a case of political banditry which, at least so far as the writer knows,is unique in the records of the international Communist movement.

In the columns of **l'Humanite**, one reads now that most if not all of the tribulations of the party are to be traced to what is currently known as "the group", that is, a clique of leaders of the party and the Youth. Just what is "the group"? One of its leading members, Billoux, gives the following information about it (all quotations are translated directly from **l'Humanite** itself):

"Actually constituted since 1923 in the struggle against the opportunist policy of the party leaderships of those days, this group, as leader of the Communist Youth, helped greatly in the purging of the party and in its formation. The mistake of the comrades belonging to this group is only the greater because of it.

"In the meetings of the regions and of the district committees, many comrades have asked for clarification on the Central Committee resolution where it says that we had constituted a group without a political basis. It is a fact that we had no special political platform. But we considered ourselves as the only ones capable of applying the correct political line." (11-2-31.)

Confirming the confessions of Billoux, the representative of the Political Bureau at the Paris district committee meeting mentioned above, Frachon declared that "the group constituted in the Political Bureau has existed for seven to eight years, that it had groups in the regions, in the districts, in the Paris district, in the Confederal Bureau [of the C. G. T. U.]".

Explaining Away the "Excesses" of Stalinism

The group disclosed, the new group (for what else has replaced the old one in the leadership of the party?) proceeds systematically to demonstrate to the membership what scoundrels their predecessors were and what chemically pure Leninists the party is now endowed with in the person of the new leadership: Thorez, Frachon and Co. At the same time, the "excesses" of last year's Stalinism are conveniently ascribed to the poor scapegoats. For example: Thorez writes indignantly about "the group" in these terms:

"A comrade of the group condemned by the Central Committee thought that the Communist International was backsliding to the Right and revising the previous theses on social-fascism. And what was the argument, or rather the pretext, invoked? Simply that we did not repeat in every line of the theses the term social-fascist. The group was impregnated with the sectarian, Leftist spirit, the comrade considered as a step towards opportunism the effort, recommended by the International, with a view towards convincing the socialist workers otherwise than with epithets [Aha!] . . . And perhaps we shall still have to establish to what extent the sectarian practises of the group contributed to disorienting the party, to disarming it before the bourgeois and social democratic enemy, to what extent, finally, the group facilitated the frankly opportunist mistakes which we must establish at the moment when the party is once more taking the first steps in the tactic of the united front". (11-3-31.)

Bad? The Artful Dodger himself could do no better! And not only on the question of "social-fascism". It appears that all the blunders and crimes, in the theoretical as well as in the practical domain, committed in the trade union question should legitimately be ascribed to "the group". The apostle Thorez vouchsafes us this revelation also: "By forgetting or not knowing these elementary truths, the group did considerable damage to the work of redressment decided upon by the party since July 1930, particularly in the relations between the party and the trade unions." (10-31-31.)

The Paris resolution referred to above, to explain the situation which it speaks about in such detail, announces that "the fact that one of the principal leaders of the district, comrade Celor, belonged to the group constituted in the leadership of the party, contributed greatly to the development of such a state of affairs". And it is in this resolution that we learn for the first time who it was that constituted "the group": " . . . the enlarged District Committee approves the condemnation of the grave mistakes committed by Barbe, Celor, Raymond. Lozeray, Billoux, Coutheillas, Galopin and condemns the group work carried on by Celor in the Paris district".

Who Are "The Group"?

The members of 'the group" are no small fry. They were the leaders of the party and nothing less. Barbe was a member of the Political Bureau and of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, where he represented the French party. Celor held the same two positions. Raymond was on the Paris District Committee. Lozeray was on the Central Committee of the party and a member of the Secretariat. Billoux was secretary of the Young Communist League and member of the Executive of the Young Communist International. Coutheillas was on the secretariat of the Y. C. L. Galopin was on the Confederal Bureau of the C. G. T. U. Their influence extended far beyond the limits of seven clansmen. The report of the Paris meeting declares that Larriber, the secretary of the Paris district, "denies having known of the existence of the group but acknowledgdes having worked under its influence." No less a Stalinist statesman than Pierre Semard, secretary of the party until a short time ago, made the same admission in a "self-critical" confession in **l'Humanite.**

The question immediately arises: How was this group which, if we are to believe Thorez, has neither a definite political platform nor any principles, and which always voted approval of the decisions of the International—how was this group able to exist for seven or eight years as a closed and unknown faction, carrying on its machinations and maneuvers throughout the party, the youth and the trade unions with the single aim of gaining control of the party apparatus? How was it able, from an obscure group of Communist Youth, to gain such decisive control of the party, to represent it in the highest instances of the Communist International—the Executive Committee?

There have been numerous instances in the history of the Communist International—in its best days and in its worst—of factional and group struggles for party leadership. But these were carried on in the open, their existence was known, they had distinct patforms, with very tangible points at issue. Around them took place open, and sometimes very violent, discussions. After a certain period, one standpoint or the other triumphed and the course of the party was clearly identifiable with the people who directed it. Such internal disputes constitute the very life of an active, lusty revolutionary political movement which is closely connected with the course of events and their constant permutations.

Sordid Practices Revealed

But what we have here is an entirely and a radically different matter. The "group" was constituted without any political platform. Its existence was never communicated to anyone other than its own chiefs. It never strove to gain places and posts in the party leadership in the name of a political line different from that pursued by the incumbent leadership. All its actions bore a purely conspirative character. Struggle for political control without political principle, without a special platform, by exclusively conspirative methods, is known by the short and ugly term: **political banditry.**

A couple of instances will serve as additional support for this designation. What **l'Humanite** does not tell the party members is an incident like the following: When Thorez was serving a term in prison at Nancy in 1930 for "violating the press law", Barbe, who was in the party secretariat at the time, made a whole series of demagogic arguments against paying the fine which would have released Thorez for party work: "Party leaders should not be better treated than the ordinary revolutionary worker". It was only after an indignant intervention of a Comintern delegation that the secretariat was obliged to pay the fine. Barbe's reluctance to see Thorez at large is now easily comprehensible in the light of the revelations—Thorez and Barbe were at sword's points in the party and the bourgeoisie had simply done Barbe a decent turn by incarcerating Thorez! Only, it must be borne in mind that if such conduct cannot be called Communist, it can surely be compared to the conduct of a gangster towards his rival.

The writer recalls further an incident at the 1925 Plenum of the Young Communist International. In the Political Commission, Doriot, at that time a conscious or unconscious agent of "the group", launched a furious and thoroughly nauseating attack upon the then representative in Moscow of the French Youth League, Mouton. The violence and the gross language in which the attack was made were incomprehensible at the time, as was the categoric demand that Mouton be sent back to France. Now we learn the reason for the demand, which was in no way at all motivated by Doriot in his two speeches. It appeared that at that time Mouton was a political friend of Treint, the leader of the French party in 1925." The group" was busy cutting Treint to pieces and Mouton was only one of many who had to be got rid of—and were.

Who Are the Fighters Against the Left Opposition?

Still another characterization of "the group" and its members cannot be omitted. As should be expected, all of them were and are still to be found in the very forefront of the struggle against "Tortskyism". At the very moment when Barbe and his pals were carrying on their conspirative faction work, Barbe proclaimed at the 1928 congress of the French party, in speaking about the expulsion of the "Trotskyists" from the party: "It is to insult the memory and all of the teachings of Lenin even to dare to refer to the actions of Lenin in order to render legitimate the factional work of the Opposition which only leads to the demoralization of the working class, to deflecting it from the revolutionary path." (2-1-28.) It does not require penetrating imagination to picture to oneself the cynical laughter that must have shaken Barbe internally while delivering himself of this righteous assault upon the "factionalists" of the Opposition.

And now, where was the party all these seven-eight years while the bandits were secretly at work? Where was the membership, with its control over party policies and party leadership? The only answer is: it was there, but it had nothing to say in the matter. The membership became a mere shadow on the wall, going through certain formal motions which were never registered in actuality. Everything was decided outside of the ranks of the party itself, in the secret meeting places of a self-perpetuating clique without principles or a feeling of responsibility. In the face of the recent revelations, what do all the discussions in the French party signify? What value have all the party conferences and congresses, which were supposed to decide the questions of party policy and to select the leadership of the party? In this whole sordid history, where can one find the merest trace of party democracy? Nowhere, for in France as everywhere else in the Stalinist International, party democracy has long ago been ruthlessly exterminated; only the most shadowy recollections of it remain. And that is in the very nature of Stalinism: a false policy, a policy of blunders and uninterrupted defeats can be imposed upon the worker-Communists only by a bureaucratic machine which crushes the party to pieces as it rolls along. A more salient and unanswerable example of this process than that presented by "the group" cannot be given in the recent history of Stalinism. To find a comparison one must depart from the domain of the labor movement and search in the sewers of bourgeois politics: the seven years' history of "the group" is comparable only to the conduct and methods of Tammany Hall. Its success would undoubtedly excite the admiration and perhaps the envy of John Curry, McCooey and Boss Vare of Philadelphia.

* * * *

But, it will be said, the "new" party leadership nevertheless did uncover them and pillory them in public. Like most half-truths this is worse than a falsehood. The fact of the matter is that "the group" was not uncovered in the interests of Communist purity and probity of conduct. The fact of the matter is, further, that Thorez and Co. knew of the existence of "the group" many months ago, at least, and this by their own admission. In the very first article mentioning even the existence of "the group" (but taking care even then to omit the names), Thorez wrote **at the end of October:**

"In July, the C. C. established, in spite of its May resolution, not only the development of the group spirit but also the existence of a closed group whose members submitted to the discipline of the group, met outside of the regular organisms of the party in order to put their heads together and to determine their common attitude in all the problems of party policy." (10-28-31).

The fact of the matter is, still further, that "the group" was known even before July. In the middle of 1930, at the moment of the "decisive turn" which followed after the heights of the "third period" had been attained, the Political Bureau was reorganized precisely in order to destroy the domination of Barbe and Co. It was reconstituted with Thorez, Monmousseau, Semard, Frachon, Cachin, Doriot and Barbe, leaving only the last-named as a representative of 'the group". Why then are they exposed only now, at this late date? For the reason we mentioned at the very outset. The condition of the party has reached so serious a state and aroused so much disconentment in the party that another "new turn" has been decided upon. A Stalinist turn has as its **sina qua none,** its absolutely inescapable pre-requisite, a group of scapegoats. In France, the scapegoat is "'the group". It offers itself willingly, as the public self-flagellations of its adherents demonstrate. As a reward for this final phase of the conspiracy against the party, they are let off with a "punishment" which is nothing less than a direct incitation to a repetition of such work. Lozeray, for example, after a public avowal of the fact that he had acted for some eight years as a common bourgeois politician, as a bandit instead of a Communist, is "punished" by being made full-time treasurer of the Workers' Sport Federation.

What Needs To Be Done

But Thorez, Frachon and Co., to whom cynicism and Stalinist corruption are not alien qualities, are not interested in that. All they require is a scapegoat for themselves. The party membership is restless? Then throw it a bone! That is why the campaign is being conducted so furiously in the columns of **l'Humanite** against "the group". That is why the attention of all the party meetings is being turned in that direction. That is why it is already common knowledge that, in face of the tremendous problems facing Communism in France, the announced party congress will be held shortly entirely under the sign of "the struggle against the group". That is how the Stalinists hope to distract the attention of the party from their own enormities, from their own incapacity, from their own blunders in permanence.

Let us hope that the Left Opposition in France, despite the fewness of its numbers, will be able to arouse at least a small but resolute section of the party vanguard which will start delivering some imperatively needed blows, not only at political banditry but at the whole rotted foundation of Stalinism which underlies it.

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

Paris, November 11, 1931.

The Work of the Greek Opposition

The Archio-Marxists Lead the Workers in the Class Struggle

On behalf of the International Secretariat I visited the Greek comrades, with whom I stayed four days. I became convinced that the Left Opposition in Greece has become a leading revolutionary force in the young working class movement there. I must emphasize the fact that the whole revolutionary movement, both Party and Opposition, is being frightfully terrorized, that anti-Communist laws and special courts are prevalent, that severe penalties (lately five and six years of prison) are being imposed for mere membership in a communist group, and finally, that the Party and the Opposition work under strictly illegal conditions.

In spite of all this, the Opposition is strong in numbers; counting all Greece, it has today about 1,400 members. Its strongest centers are Athens, Piraeus, and Saloniki, which are among the most important centers of the labor movement in Greece. We must however remember that these 1,400 members without exception are firmly established in all mass organizations.

All work is strictly divided among the members, the activity of each is under exacting supervision, as all comrades must give an accurate report twice a month on their activity, and a true collective cooperation rules in the organization. I had the opportunity of talking to a group of comrades from Saloniki, who were in Athens for a conference. They were almost without exception workers. They are among the best-trained cadres in the labor movement, very active in daily work, fully penetrated with the conviction of the correctness of the ideas of the Left Opposition, and they carry on an untiring fight for clarification among the workers.

The Opposition in Greece, called the "Archio-Marxists", far outnumber the Party, not only in membership, but also in the number of readers of their press, not to speak of its quality. Even if the Party received more votes than the Left Opposition in the past, it must be remembered that the Party carries the authority of the U. S. S. R. and of the C. I. on its banner. In all activities outside the elections, as an organized force, it is clearly proven that not the Party, but the Opposition, enjoys the confidence of the Greek working class. Let us let the facts speak for themselves.

The Press

Our comrades began with a magazine which appeared twice a month. Now it appears twice a week with an issue of 6 to 7,000 copies. Our comrades are now issuing, or causing to issue under their influence, the following papers: 1. A theoretical magazine, appearing monthly, with an issue of 4,000 copies.

2. The trade unions which are under our influence issue a number of papers which are edited completely along the lines of the Left Opposition. To name only the most important, (a) A bakery workers' monthly, (b) a shoemakers' monthly, (c) a monthly paper for war invalids, "The Voice of the Sacrificed", (d) a monthly paper for students. Each of these has a circulation of 6 to 7,000 and is distributed throughout the entire country. All this work is controlled and directed by the strictly-organized fractions of the Left Opposition in the Left trade unions.

3. The Union of Employees of Banks and Corporations issue a monthly publication. This union has 1,200 members and fully approves the political lines of the Left Opposition. All the comrades who issue this magazine are among the old Party comrades.

Next week they will also begin the publication of a new monthly in Jewish, **The Proletariat,** in Saloniki.

Political Activities

These at first consisted of the offer to the Party of a united front in the struggle against terror and reaction. The Party made no answer. They realized it in spite of the refusal. It took place at the well-known trial of the two soldiers, Party members, who were condemned to death. A demonstration was organized in front of Athens University, at which the majority consisted of oppositionist comrades; a severe collision with the police took place, some of the comrades were wounded and some arrested, but one comrade was able to deliver a speech.

Then followed demonstrations in the court-room. In the course of the trial of the two soldiers one of the Oppositionist comrades were sentenced to four years in jail, only for shouting out to the judges and the audience, "The workers produce and have to starve, while you gentlemen do nothing and live on the fat of the land!" For this insult to the judges our comrade was sentenced to four years in jail. This action however showed good results for the future development of the united front with the Party. The membership began to see that the Archio-Marxists are no "Archio-fascists", but together with the Party are struggling against the hated system.

Unemployment

Since February 1930 the work of organizing the unemployed has been begun, accompanied by frequent collisions with the police. In Athens, Piraeus, there is a committee of 50 unemployed, in Saloniki of 30 members, who direct these organizations. Lately general mass meetings have been organized. In Athens there were 1,000 participants, in Piraeus 1.500 and in Saloniki about 2,000. An unemployment meeting in Saloniki was charged by cavalry, and some were wounded. As a result of our activity so far, the unemployed already receive free soup. Our Opposition was the first to take up the struggle for the demands of the unemployed, only afterwards did the Party take it up. One thing should be pointed out—the class enemy, and its savage armed forces, makes no distinction between the Opposition and the Party.

The demonstrations of war orphans should also be mentioned here. We carried through a demonstration in front of the political office of Venizelos, in which some 1,000 took part. In an encounter with the police a great many were wounded.

Elections

At the elections the Party received many more votes than our Opposition, but this is explained on two groundds: 1. The members and sympathizers of the Opposition in Saloniki are partly grouped around young worker elements, who have not yet reached the legal voting age, 2. Although the Party is constantly losing influence and now has little influence among organized trade union workers, and although these same workers follow our Opposition in the daily struggle and in all extra-parliamentary activity, still at the elections they continue to regard the Party as the only representative of the U. S. S. R. and of the C. I. At the later elections our comrades understood this mistake, formed a united front with the Party and called on all workers to vote for the Party. This action was greeted with enthusiasm by the Party comrades and the pressure became so strong that recently the Party leadership was compelled to take the Opposition back into the Red Relief. In all the prisons, too, the Opposition have been received into the collective organizations of the prisoners. This was accomplished only by a correct united front tactic toward the party.

Trade Unions

The work of the Opposition in the trade unions is concentrated under the slogan, "For Trade Union Unity—Against the Splitters!" Everywhere in the workers' centers, among the workers of the Party and those who are under reformist influence, this slogan finds ready acceptance. For instance, as a result of the untiring work of the Opposition, reunion has been achieved in the bakery and shoe trade between our unions and the reformists. Now, after this reunion, the leadership is in the hands of the Opposition. The same results were achieved with the food industry workers. We forced the Stalinists to accept the reunion of both organizations and to take the bakers' union into the general federation of food industry workers. The Opposition hopes to win over the whole federation in a short time. The same tactics are being applied in the leather and building construction trades. The unions which are led by the Opposition are the most active and the best organized.

Organization

The participation of the Opposition in the general class struggles in Greece forced a small number of its adherents to leave its ranks. These are the so-called "Fractionists", who reunited with elements which had already previously been expelled from the Opposition. At first this took on a purely personal character, through mudslinging and slander of various comrades. Later, however, they took the viewpoint that the Opposition must give up all political as well as trade union struggles, and thus idealized the beginning stage of the Opposition, which had been based on work in narrow circles.

Under this slogan they acquired a group of elements who have no understanding of mass struggle. The struggle of the Opposition against this slogan forced the "Fractionsts" to drop it, but later they took up the slogan of democratic centralism, which they understood as meaning that the majority must submit to the minority. The theses of "Fractionists" appeared in the "Pali" (the theoretical monthly of the Greek Opposition).

At the moment this group is in course of disintegration; the honest elements are returning; the rest, consisting of corrupt elements, has formed a block with the **Spartacus** group, and both of them support the Stalinists in their dirty struggle against the Opposition; in fact, their slanders are more bitter and savage than those of the Stalinists. On the most important questions, such as the evaluation of Fascism, trade union unity, the immediate threat of war against the U. S. S. R., they take the same position as the Stalinists. They have all formed a Holy Alliance with the purpose of breaking down the oppositionist organization.

(continued on page 4)

Marine Workers' Defense Is Organized

(Continued from page 1)

signed have taken the initiative to form a defense committee. Legal counsel has been retained and a campaign of publicity and agitation has been mapped out. The Independent Tidewater Boatmen's Union,, three weekly labor papers and several organizations are already represented in the defense committee andd backing its fight. This is only a beginning.

It is the aim of the committee to broaden its membership to include representatives of all tendencies in the labor movement. The defense committee invites the cooperation and support of all workers, of all organizations, parties and groups regardless of the differences between them on other questions, who are willing to stand together in solidarity with Soderberg, Bunker and Trajer in a common fight against a brazen frame-up.

Address all communications and send all funds to:

MARINE WORKERS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE
84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

Carter Hudson, Chairman
Carlo Tresca, Secretary
James P. Cannon
James Gilday
Ben Gitlow
Norman Hawkins
Sylvan A. Pollack
A. Ribarich
I. Zimmerman

A LETTER FROM THE DEFENDANTS

Tombs Prison
New York City
November 24, 1931

Dear Comrade Cannon:

We want to make it clear to all those concerned that not one of us, the undersigned, is guilty of any part of the crimes charges against us and have contended so throughout the whole case, no matter what the daily press may have said to the contrary. We are framed and accused by one Willian Hoyle, a member of the union whom the police are using against us. Our stand has been, is now and always will be one of not guilty.

Our only crime has been that of organizing workers in an industry where exploitation has reached its very limit. If this is a crime then we are criminals and we will continue to be criminal, but we most emphatically deny guilt of the matter charged to us by the police,

We hope that the workers of the union of which one of us is Secretary will see through the whole miserable frame-up and will redouble their efforts to organize and fight those responsible for the miserable conditions existing in our industry. We further trust that our union members individually and collectively will give the Committee all their support financially and otherwise to fight this frame-up to the bitter end. This is a fight, not of one or two or three individual members but a fight of the whole working class, organized and unorganized, and just as the political opinons of those in here may differ somewhat, our common cause still binds us; so must all class conscious workers on the outside sink all their political differences and get together as one with the Comittee and do their bit in the struggle.

We also wish to make it clear to all concerned that we leave our case fully and unconditionally in the hands of the Committee founded by yourself and comrade Tresca at the beginning and now further augmented by other workers. We leave all details as to our defense, selection of attorneys, methods of defense, collection of money necessary for the defense and any other matters pertaining to the case entirly in your hands and we are satisfied to trust to the Committee's judgment in all matters in the case or pertaining thereto.

We hope and trust that the Committee will be successful in its eendeavor, but successful or not, we want you to know that we appreciate all you have tried to do and we realize your tremendous efforts. We expect no gratitude or mercy from the boss class. We ask for none, but we ask the workers to organize, organize and fight to the bitter end.

(Signed) J. Soderberg, Wm. Trajor,
T. Bunker, Members of the
I. T. B. U.

The N. Y. Forum

"What Next in England" was the topic discussed by J. P. Cannon at the New York Forum of the Communist League of America (Opposition) last Friday, November 27. The defeat of the Labour Government, the betrayal of MacDonald, the poor showing of the British Communist Party in the elections and the perspectives for the Communists were dealt with by comrade Cannon. A preliminary review of the economic situation in Britain accompanied the speech. The role of the United States, which has superceded Great Britain as the leading imperialist power, was discussed. The effect of the Stalinist policy on the British working class and the Communist Party was set forth, particularly as arising from the Anglo-Russian Committee, which made ineffective the independent role of the Communists. Questions and discussion followed, after which the meeting adjourned.

At the next Forum, Friday evening, December 4th, at the Labor Temple, 13th St., and Second Avenue, comrade Cannon will talk on the New York "Dynamite Plot", its significance and the necessity for all workers to rally on behalf of the defendants. Workers are urged to come early in order to get a seat. The lecture starts at 8 P. M.

Stalinist Attack on Greek Worker

NEW YORK.—

At a recent meeting of the Greek Spartacus Workers Club in New York, comrade Papas, formerly a Party member and now a member of the Spartacus Club, protested vigorously against the Stalinists for the expulsion of supporters and sympathizers of the Left Opposition from the Club.

He also assisted the Left Opposition comrades in the distribution of the Manifesto of the Greek Opposition and of the leaflets advertising the Opposition forum.

As a result he was summoned on November 19th before the executive committee of the Club and reprimanded for the distribution of the leaflets. On Sunday, November 22 he distributed the Manifestos and was threatened with physical attack. On the next day, Monday, while comrade Papas was sitting around and discussing the Manifesto with other workers, a member of the Greek District Bureau of the Party tried to incite others to beat up comrade Papas. A sympathizer protested strongly against such methods and advised the district bureau member not to employ such "ideological" weapons against Opposition sympathizers. But after this sympathizer left the hall and comrade Papas descended the steps of the Club, he was attacked by five Party members.

Comrade Papas was indignant at such cowardly attacks and proposed to retaliate, but the comrades of the Opposition cooled him down. The Opposition comrades warn the Party members against these fascist methods of discussion as against ideological arguments, and will defend themselves against any future attacks of the Stalinists if they will not learn better nor desist from such practices.

BOSTON MEETING

BOSTON.—

Excellent interest was manifest among workers who attended Arne Swabeck's lecture in Boston on November 27 on the results of the British elections. Numerous questions were asked of the speaker even after the close of the lecture, by close party sympathizers, including a couple of Negro comrades. A good collection to defray the expenses of the meeting was taken up.

A Letter to A Comrade -- by Leon Trotsky

The British Election and the Communists

Dear Comrade:

One of my English friends wrote to me on the 9th of October, prior to the parliamentary elections, about the fast growth of the Communist Party, and of a certain approach of the rank and file members in the I. L. P. towards Communism. My correspondent speaks also of a regrowth of the Minority Movement in the trade unions and the growing leadership of the same Minority in the sporadic strike movements. These isolated instances in the background of the world crisis and the national crisis which England is going through allows us to accept the idea that in the last two years there has been a strengthening of the Communist Party. The elections brought an absolute disillusionment in this respect. Of the many hundreds of thousands of votes which the Laborites lost, the Party at best swung to its support 20,000, which is, in consideration of the increased total number of voters, an invalid conjunctural fluctuation, and not by any means a serious political conquest. Where is the influence of the Party among the unemployed? Among the coal miners? Among the young generation of workers who, for the first time, voted? Actually, the election results are a horrible condemnation of the policies of the Party and the Comintern.

I have observed very little the tactics of the British Party during the last year and I do not want to give judgment about what it learned, or whether it really learned anything. However, it is clear to me that independent from its recent and latest errors, the Communist Party is paying by its impotence of the past year, for the shameful and criminal politics of the Comintern, bound up with the Anglo-Russian Committee and later with the "Third Period". These errors were ruinous especially for England.

Traditions of the English Proletariat

It surprises one anew, what a terrible load of humilitation, conservatism, bigotry, conciliation, respect to the summits, to titles, to riches, to the Crown drags in its thoughts the English working-class which is at the same time capable of grand revolutionary insurrections (Chartism, pre-war movements of 1911, movements following the war, the strike movements of 1926).

The English proletariat, the oldest, with the most traditions, is, in its thinking methods, most empirical, carries in its chest two souls, and turns, as it were, with two faces to historical events.

The contemptible mercenary and servile bureaucrats of the Trade Unions and the Labour Party give expression to all that is rotten, humiliating, serf-like and feudal in the British working-class. Against this, the tasks of the Communist Party consist in giving expression to the potential revolutionary qualities of the British working-class, which is very great and capable of developing immense explosive powers. But in the very critical period of British history, 1925-1927, all the politics of the British Communist Party and the Comintern consisted in the slave-like assimilation of the Trade Union leadership, its idealization, blotting out its treason, and fastening the confidence of the working-class to it. The young British Communist Party was because of this deeply demoralized. The whole authority of the October Revolution, U. S. S. R., Bolshevism, was in this year attached to the support and solidification of the conservative and servile tendencies of the British working-class.

The Laborites Use the Stalinites

After the Laborites had utilized the Stalinites to the end and kicked them aside, the chapter of Trade Unionism was mechanically substituted under the caption of the ultra-Left jump to the glory of the "Third Period". The slogan of "Class Against Class" was now issued, interpreted as a slogan of the struggle of a handful of Communists against the "social-fascist" proletariat. When yesterday Purcell and Cook were friends and trustworthy allies of the Soviet Union, today the workers who vote for Purcell and Cook transformed themselves into class enemies. This is the political orbit of the British Communist Party, or, rather, of the Communist International. Can we expect another surer way to trample the prestige of Communism and to undermine the confidence of the Party by the awakening workers?

The Moscow bureaucracy of the C. I. at every step runs against a blind alley with its nose, commands a turn either to the Left or to the Right. That is not difficult. All these Kuusinens, Manuilskys, Losovskys, etc., are apparatus men, free not only of serious Marxian training and revolutionary horizon, but also—and this is the important thing—from every control of the masses. Its politics has a pure chancery character. A tactical turn is for them only a new circular. The C. C. of the British Communist Party, according to its strength, carries out the orders. But all of these circulars, through the corresponding politics, transport themselves into the consciousness of the workers. The bureaucratic bankrupts believe that one can mechanically fasten our leadership, onto the working class: on the one side with the aid of cash and repression, on the other side with the help of abrupt leaps, the blotting out of traces, with lies and calumnies. But this is totally untrue.

The English workers think slowly, since their consciousness is filled with the rubbish of centuries. But they think. Single articles, appeals, slogans, generally pass them by unnoticed. However, whole periods of politics (Anglo-Russian Committee, "Third Period") in no respect pass without a trace, at least, with the most progressive, militant, critical and revolutionary section of the working class. When one imagines the education of the revolutionary consciousness as the cutting of threads on a screw, one must say that the leadership of the Comintern, at each time, does not employ the proper tool nor proper caliber, and not in the direction necessary, thereby breaking the grooves, crumbling and demolishing. Without the smallest exaggeation one can confirm that from 1923, (for England especially from 1925) had the Comintern not existedd, we would have today in England an incomparably more important revolutionary party. The last elections illustrate with power that frightful conviction.

Tasks of the British Left Opposition

Here begins the task of the Left Opposition. The English Communists, among whom are naturally many devoted, honest, self-sacrificing revolutionaries, cannot but be discouraged with the results of a decade of activity, and that in the exclusively opportune conditions. Pessimism and indifference can also take hold of very good revolutionaries when they do not understand the causes of their own weaknesses, nor find the way out. Criticism, i. e., in the light of Marxism that openly illuminates the path of the Party, its zig-zags, its errors, the theoretical roots of these errors—that is the foremost and necesary condition for the regeneration of the Party. It is especially necessary, when this has not been done, to begin the publication of the most important documents of the International Left Opposition concerning the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee. This is the point of departure for the English Left wing.

he Left Opposition in England, just as Communism generally, has the right to count upon a promising future: British capitalism falls from great historical heights to an abyss—that is clear to all. One can, with assuredness, say that the recent elections represent the last gigantic rise of the national "grandeur" of the British bourgeoisie. However, it is the rise of a dying lamp. For these elections, official English politics will in the coming period pay heavily.

The bankruptcy of the great national heroes of the three parties, just as the bankruptcy of British capitalism, are absolutely inevitable. Despite all obstacles from the C. I., the mole of the British revolution borrows much too good its earthly path. One has every right to hope that these elections are the last rise of reliance of the millions of workers on the capitalists, lords, intellectuals, educated and rich persons, those united with MacDonald and the Sunday Pudding. These gentlemen will find no secret. The real secret is this: the Proletarian Revolution. Just as the actual elections prepare the smash of the conservative and servile soul of the English proletariat, it will be followed by the powerful blossom of their revolutionary soul.

Yet, immediately the victory of the conservatives brings heavy trials for the English proletariat and the deepening of international dangers. Especially does this endanger the U. S. S. R. Here we can see what little aid was brought to the U. S. S. R. through the uninterrupted cry for her "defense". For a period of two or three years, one expected this defense from Purcell, Hicks, Citrine and later this defense was taken by the Communist Party against the "social-fascist" proletariat. And now, it has in the defense of the U. S. S. R. all in all received 70,000 votes. All that the Left Opposition demanded, the rupture of the shameful block with Purcell, was charged by Stalin as a refusal to defend the U. S. S. R. from British imperialism. Now we can draw the balance: Nobody has given such service to the expiring British Imperialism as the Stalin school. Of course, the chief of this school earned two orders of the Garter.

The British Left Opposition must begin systematic work. You must establish our **staff-center,** though a small one. You must build your own publication, even on a modest scale . . . It is necessary to have a steady, uninterrupted activity, analysis, critique and propaganda. It is necessary to educate our cadres, although in the first stages few. The fundamental power of history is in our favor. When, in England, more so than elsewhere, Communism in a short time can conquer the consciousness of the wide masses, so can conquer, in the same short time, within the Communist movement, the supremacy of the ideas of the Left Opposition, that is, the ideas of Marx and Lenin. I sincerely wish our British friends success on this path.

With best Communist greetings,
Yours,
L. TROTSKY.

Kadikoy, November 10th, 1931

NOTES FROM ENGLAND

LONDON—Many workers were intimidated into voting for a "Nationalist" candidate by a warning enclosed in their pay envelopes. It was stated that unless a nationalist government was returned, the mills or works in question would have to be closed.

* * * *

Lawyers are more numerous in the newly elected House of Commons than they have been in any previous Parliament. They number 135. 121 are barristers and 14 solicitors. The **Commonweal** rightly regards this preponderance of the legal element "as very unhealthy for the nation."

* * * *

The same paper, which stands for land restoration without compensation to present holders, also states that more than 30 heirs of peers and holders of courtesy peerage titles have been returned to the House of Commons. To these must be added the wife of a duke, the wife of an Earl, the wife of a viscount, and the daughter of a baron.

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In a future issue the same weekly, **Commonweal,** will publish details of the land-holding of those peers who have heirs or other relatives in the Commons, with some particulars of untitled landlords who have secured election by their dupes.

Chicago Lectures

The Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) has organized a number of mass meetings and open forum meetings, since the opening of its own headquarters. The following is a partial list of scheduled meetings:

Sunday, December 6th, at **2:30 P. M.** Subject: **"The Imperialist Contradictions in Manchuria"** by Hugo Oehler.

Thursday, December 10, at 8 P. M.: Subject: **"The Left Opposition and the Economic Crisis"** by Arne Swabeck.

Sunday, December 13th, at 2.30 P. M.: Subject: **"A Bourgeoisie Or Soviet United States of Europe,"** by O. Carlson.

Sunday, December 20th, at 2.30 P. M.: Subject: **"Socialism in England,"** by John Edwards.

Sunday, December 27th, at 2.30 P. M.: Subject: **"Can Capitalism Solve The Economic Crisis,"** by John Mehley.

The meetings will be held at the headquarters hall, **1435 No. Wesetrn Ave.** Admission is free. All workers are invited to attend.

CHINESE COMMUNIST GETS TEN YEARS

SHANGHAI—Nov. 1st—**(Fenprecor)**—Zi-Ah-mei, Communist and trade union leader, received particularly merciful treatment from the Chinese authorities here this week. He was sentenced to a mere ten years and six months for his participation in a recent strike of the tramway operators and conductors in the Shanghai Fench Concession. "Incriminating documents" found in his quarters were Communist pamphlets and notes concerning the labor situation here. Zi loses civil rights, whatever they may be in China, for twelve years in addition to his sentence. Ordinarily Communism is punishable by death.

COMMUNIST BEHEADED

PEIPING—Nov. 1st **(Fenprecor)**—Huge crowds of morbidly curious turned out here to see young Sung Hou-mei, 21 years old, and officially listed as a "not-orious Communist", publicly beheaded with a two-handed sword. In cool and bold reply to the howls of the mob Sung announced his death would be worth while if it helped to lead to the establishment of the Soviet system in China.

TIENTSIN—Nov. 1st—**(Fenprecor)**—Military and political authorities are feverishly preparing precautionary measures here in view of a report that Chinese Communists are planning to hold a congress on November 7, in honor of the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

JEWISH WORKERS ATTENTION

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The New York Jewish group of the Left Opposition is calling upon all workers in sympathy with the project of a Jewish paper to come to a meeting on Saturday, December 5th, 2 P. M. The meeting will be held at the headquarters of the Communist League, 84 East 10th Street, New York, N. Y.

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It is necessary that every member of the Party should study calmly and with the greatest objectivity, first the substance of the differences of opinion, and then the development of the struggles within the Party. Neither the one nor the other can be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He who takes somebody's word for it is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a simple gesture of the hand."—Lenin.

Illinois Miners on the Go for Tom Mooney

STAUNTON, ILL.—

The campaign for the release of Tom Mooney has broken ground in the coal fields of Illinois. On the initiative of the St. Louis Branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and thru the instrumentality of the St. Louis United Front Mooney Conference, the movement has got under way. Twenty-six delegates,—from eight U. W. M. A. locals representing approximately 5,000 miners, the Communist League of America (Opposition) and the Communist PartyI, responded to the call of the Staunton Pardon Mooney Club and met in the Staunton Labor Temple, Lodge Hall, on Sunday, November 29, at 2 P. M.

After disposing of preliminaries, the conference buckled down to business. The conference elected its officers and committees then proceeded to a discussion on methods for the beginning of systematic mass activity for the release of Mooney. The main speech in the discussion was made by comrade Stamm of the St. Louis Communist League of America (Opposition) who, basing himself on Tom Mooney's appeal of August 20, stressed the importance of a genuine united front; the broadening of the conference to include other organizations in the vicinity of Staunton; mass meetings, demonstrations, etc. Elected on the resolutions committee were Tash of the Communist Party, Clarke of the Communist League of America (Opposition) and Hede (U. M. W. A.).

The committee presented two resolutions. Both were adopted unanimously. The resolution referring to the criminal syndicalist law was amended following a heated discussion but the spirit of the document remained unchanged. Telegrams were sent to Governor Rolph, demanding the immediate and unconditional release of Tom Mooney; to the Prosecuting Attorney of Franklin County, Ill., demanding the quashing of the indictment of the seven victims recently arrested, and their release; to Tom Mooney greeting him and pledging a struggle on his behalf.

A motion introduced by a U. M. W. A. delegate, placing the conference on record as denouncing a malicious slander which appeared in the **Illinois Miner** of November 28 to the effect that Tom Stamm in the name of the Communist League of America (Opposition) was to debate with Chas. Blome against the release of Mooney, and demanding that the **Illinois Miner** print a correction, was unanimously carried.

An executive committee representing each local union, the Communist Party, the Communist League of America (Opposition) was elected and will work out plans to broaden the conference and extend its activity. We would like to inquire of the Communist Party as to whether its participation in this conference is a change of policy, and why the I. L. D. and the N. M. U. were conspicious by their absence?

The conference was a succeed from many points of view. The delegations were representative ones, and militancy was outstanding.

—GEORGE CLARKE.

CANNON TO SPEAK BEFORE I. W. W. FORUM

James P. Cannon will speak at the I. W. W. Forum in New York at 90 East 10th Street, on **Sunday, December 6th, 1931.** The subject of comrade Cannon's lecture will be "Class War Prisoners and Labor Solidarity." He will review the famous labor cases of the past, the attitude of militant labor toward them, and draw conclusions regarding the problem of labor solidarity in the cases of the present day.

The Work of the Greek Opposition

(Continued from page 3)

This has still further hardened the Opposition, and in spite of the machinations, it has been successful recently in strengthening its influence, particularly among the party cadres. Its influence is growing in all the cities, large and small. Entirely new groups have been formed in Macedonia among the tobacco workers, as well as in Larissa, Lamia, Thassos. They are holding a great number of sport meetings, and meetings of refugees. In addition, they have two well-developed artistic groups, who carried on propagandist performances with great success, especially in Athens and Saloniki, and among the sympathizers in rural districts. At present these performances have been forbidden by the police.

Formation of Cadres

The entire work of training which was carried on in the past, has shown good results. Today they have a large number of trained workers who know how to apply Marxist principles, in political questions as well as in those of strategy and tactics. Although the work was begun by a group of intellectuals, about 85 to 90% of it now consists of workers, who are engaged in the productive process. They have Marxist schools, which are attended by adherents. This whole work is reflected in the theses for the organization of their first congress.

The basis of the local organization is the cell. Through the press, in fly-sheets, in strikes and through active participation in all daily struggles of the workers, the Opposition shows its real face.

An organ for functionaries is published whose first issue appeared after Aug. 1, and whose second issue came out the beginning of September.

Spartakos

As to this sterile and petty-bourgeois group, they have already frequently given their views. Still, they tested them again from a political standpoint through publication of an open letter, calling upon them for work in common, for discussion of various questions of tactics, etc. This, as they pointed out, would then lead to a fusion in the future. No answer. On the contrary, the petty struggles of this gorup became even sharper, and dirtier. Our Greek comrades think it is the duty of the International Opposition to express its opinion of the Spartakos group and to condemn it as a group with which we have nothing in common.

The Slogans of Our Organization

The Congress of the Opposition will be held in about two months Against the Party they put up the slogan of the reunion of the two political organizations. They have already published a series of articles on it in their organ, "Davlos": 1. For trade union unity——against the splitters! 2. A group of democratic slogans, (a) Freedom for trade unions, (b) Freedom of the press, (c) Freedom of Assembly, (d) Freedom for political organizations, (e) Abolition of the Anti-Communist Law, (f) Abolition of the Press Law, (g) Amnesty (3) Struggle for the unemployed, struggle for decent social insurance, support of the unemployed.

Differences with the Party on Concrete Political Questions

(a) Evaluation of Fascism. (b) The immeddiate threat of war against the U. S. S. R., (c) Trade union questions, (d) Against the theory of socialism in one country, (e) Against "social-fascism". It should be mentioned here, that on all these questions the Spartakos group and the "Fractionists" drift along at the tail of the Party.

* * * *

We must develop and make closer our contact with our Greek section so as to exchange our experiences internationally. It is therefore of great importance to report more often in our press on their activities and to give them at the same time for their press authentic reports on the situation in the various European counries.

—A. S-in.

October 1931

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TO

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